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Memorandum to the members
of the Congress
Re-organisation Committee

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MEMORANDUM TO THE MEMBERS

OF THE

CONGRESS RE-ORGANISATION COMMITTEE

"The man dwelling on sense-objects Develops attachment for them ; From attachment springs up desire, and from desire (un fulfilled) ensues anger.»

"From anger arises infatuation : from infatuation, confusion of memory . from confusion of memory, loss of reason and from loss of reason, one goes to complete ruin.»

Gita chapter II, No. 62, 63.

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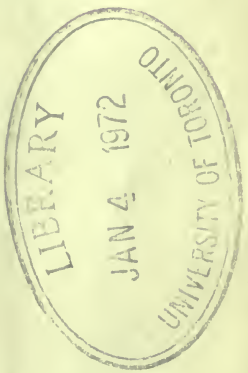

To,
The Members of Re-Organisation Committee,
Indian National Congress,

Respected Leaders,

We are still some Congress Workers, although our number is being reduced day by day, who still believe that the Congress can be restored to the pre-independence position in which it became the embodiment of people's hopes and aspirations and the symbol of sacrifice and selfless service. We still believe that Gandhian spirit of selfless service to the downtrodden masses can be revived in the Congress to attain the goal of socialism. We have seen that the Congress is drifting away from the path of service to the people, from its ideological mission, owing to the increasing domination of a class of persons whose sole concern is power, position and wealth.

This memorandum on Congress re-organisation represents the views and suggestions of the old Congress Workers who feel sincerely concerned with the future of the Congress and the country, to remodel the Congress as a Party of ideological workers to build a socialist India—the aim and object the Congress stands for. We hope and pray, that the re-organisation Committee will consider our viewpoints and suggestions.

We the bumble workers.

Shri Robin Kakoty, Ex M.P,
Shri Lila Dhar Baruah, Ex. M.P.
Shri Robin Nobish.
Shri Ram Charan Das, M.A.

MEMORANDUM
TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS RE-ORGANISATION COMMITTEE

INTRODUCTION :

1. Past History

For the last several years the talk of Congress Re-organisation has been going on. The Congress Working Committee and the AICC on various occasions discussed this problem and have been devising various ways, passing resolutions and issuing circulars to that effect. Even the constitution was amended with that end in view. But all proved to be in vain. The Congress Organisation has been deteriorating more and more with every Passing year. The root where lies the cause of this deterioration has remained untouched. Because due to manoeuvering by the vested interests, all steps that were taken all these years to revive its former strength and Popularity have gone in vain.

So there should have been question, like the following regarding this important item in the questionnaire issued by the Re-organisation Committee.

What was the result of all these years of various attempts for revitalisation of Congress? What were the factors that led to failure of all these attempts ? Thousands of speeches were delivered

(ii) Members without payment :

{Primary 75%
{Active 80%

(iii) Primary members with no existence. 20%

(iv) Members with back date 30%

Active Membership is one or the main root of all Present Congress ills, It has brought corruption and also helped in growing groupism. One may be a notorious blackmarketeer or a drunkard, but he can easily become member of DCC, PCC and get selected as Congress candidate for MLA, MP etc. if he has in his pocket a good number of Active Members which he can easily enrol by spending some amount of money only.

(a) There should be only one category of Congress members. In every polling booth or Gaon Sabha area, there will be a Congress member's Register Book. Every year, during the time fixed by AICC for enrolment of Congress members, the adult people of the respective Primary congress Committee who want to enrol themselves as Congress members or those who want to renew their membership will sign in that Register. There will be no membership subscription. One can also become Congress member or renew his membership by submitting application during the period fixed for that Purpose also. Members having continuous membership in the primary Congress Register Book for three years should be

eligible for contesting party election as well as for selection as Congress candidates, for MLA or MP etc. Members having two years membership in the Register Book will be eligible to vote in any congress election or in the selection of congress candidates for MLA or MP etc.

Weekness of the Organisation :

Question No. 2.

5. (a) The ideal and aim for which Congressmen worked before independence made the organisation strong and powerful. Masses were drawn to it by its ideology and they were ready to sacrifice for its cause as they thought Congress to be their saviour from exploitation, wants and miseries.

Now the Congress ideology has been replaced by the ambition for personal power and position. It has given rise to the present power—grouping, bringing downfall of the Congress. In preindependence Congress, there were also groups in the organisation but not for personal power and position but on ideological or for the means for its attainment.

Grouping within Congress in the past

(b) The moderates wanted Dominion Status whilst the radicals demanded complete independence. Again, as to the means whether it should be violence or non-violence and regarding the aim of socialism and the means of achieving it, There were sharp differences amongst

Congressmen. Groups may come inio being according to such differences. It is also possible that there may be rift on the ideological programme.

Groupism of Today—5.

(c) The present grouping is not due to such ideological difference any way. It is purely with the motive of gaining personal power and ambition that Congressmen at the top and State level, even at the lower level, are fighttng one another forming different groups. Both power and money are involved in this group fight. Those who are in power generally get a class of moneyed man who come forward to Provide necessary funds to keep this or that group in power to gain their own selfish end and vested interest.

Thus it opened the door of the Congress organisation to the vested interests and opportunities, Such a chain of grouping is working from top to bottom. The whole organisation in various States are in the control of this or that dominant group.

"Have and Have nots" (d)

Thus Congress has been divided into mainly two groups of "**Haves and have nots**" Except passing of pious resolutions on socialism and issuing circulars, the energy of Congressman has been spent during all these years in group politics. One group is trying to outst the other from power and to retain power for its own group.

Those who want to pursue Congress ideals and serve the interest of the mass

people are reduced to minority and they are ignored by these power groups and they are being ousted from the organisation. The MLSs and MPs and the Ministers have dominated the organisation. Others have practically no voice, so, there has been a rush for becoming MLAs, MPs or Ministers, The workers who are not in Position to be so, get no scope to work effectively and are getting frustrated and inactive. Most of them even do not find the scope of redressing their grievances, To be active now-a-days in Congress one must belong to one or the other group.

Money power—5. Domination of Congress

(e) Money and power are playing a decisive role now-a-days in Congress Organisational Elections also. One who is able to spend huge money and excercise power by way of giving lincenses, permits, contracts and such other favours and unfair facilities to earn money can get more supporters to oust his rival at DCC or at PCC organisational elections. Now-a-days it is very easy for blackmarketeers and antisocial elements to become prominent members of DCC or PCC by investing money in enrolment of active members and in various elections. But, it is not possible for honest Congressmen to hold even these organisational positions, not to speak of getting seats in Assemblies and Parliament and other bodies,

Groupism has brought Bossism into Congress, One may be a notorious or an anti social element, But he could get

Congress nomination for MLA or MP or some other privileged position, if he could keep the dominant group Boss pleased by any means. If he is in favour of the Boss there is none to prevent him from becoming MLA or MP etc.

On the other hand, those Congressmen, who want to have money, property or position in the present society,he must be either an MLA or an MP or a favourite of one of the group Bosses.

A New Phenomenon Financier Bossism : 5 (g) This has gradually led to the growth of another very dangerous factor in Congress Organisation. A new class is beginning to grow within the Congress namely Financier Boss. Now-a-days you will find in Sub-Division, District, at State and National level some people, who come forward to finance Congress nominees for MLAs, MPs. Afterwards when elected, these people become agents of those respective financiers. becoming tools in their hands. This new force will untimately devour Congress, if Congress donot take appropriate measure to check it.

Grouping of Bosses : 5. (h) Another new factor is threatening the Congress domocratic set up, This new factor is grouping of regional leaders. National leadership of Congress has gone. There is no National leader in Congress now. These regional leaders now at the top in Congress are the dominant group leaders of their respective States. There are other groups in theirrespective State, who are always challenging their leadership. In order to crush these rival groups in their respective State, these dominant group bosses of big States, are grouping themselves. This is in order to keep Delhi Gadiwala in their grip and to change the top leadership according so that they remain in power for years to come or until they are removed by God himself.

Aristrocratic Class in Congress—5. (i) Another factor which is also greatly responsible for present deplorable position of the Congress specially in the eye of the mass people of India is that most of those Congressmen who are fortunate to get power-gadi, their sons, daughters, wives and relations become power-conscious and they are very much attracted by the so-called aristocratic mode of living, style and fashion of the high officials and rich people, They also want that standard of living and the consequence follows. Not only this has happened to those who are in power but other Congressmen's sons, daughters, wives etc. also fall in the line. They think themselves a separate class from the other Congressmen who are poor and not in power or position. This has degreded Congress in the eyes of the masses.

Question No. 6. Weakness of the organisation. (a) That such a view is prevailing among most of the Congressmen is true to a great extent. Central parliamentory board and the Pradesh Election commitee are the Cetres around which grow the factions or groups with a view to capture or control these bodies. A belief also is prevailing that the working Committee and the Parliamentary Board are mainly responsible for groupisn in the States. Our suggestions are that :— (a) If the procedure for selection is changed, then most of the ills of these bodies will go.

(b) Secondly grouping of regional leaders in these committee should go, inorder to create confidence in these bodies of Congressmen as well as of public in general.

Question No. 7. Business like Composing of AICC.

(a) It is a big body functioning these days, as a lecturing house and for passing resolutions as put before it by the working Commi- i. e. High Command. If one goes through the history of the AICC after Independence, he will find nothing except consumption of lakhs of rupees worth of food. This should be made compact. business like body. Suggestions :— Pradesh Congress chief and party Leader plus : 10% of pradesh Congress members and 5 P. C. of Congress Party members of respective Legilature of small states, whose population are below 2 crores. and 5 P. C of Pradesh members and $2\frac{1}{2}$ P. C. of Congress Assembly party members of major state, will form AICC together with 5 P. C. of Parliament members.

Needs for weightage to small states :

(b) It is to be noted that the small states have no voice. In elections, and in policy making in the present AICC everything is dominated by the Bosses of the major states who have a great majority of all India Congress Committee members. In order to craete confidence and to free it from the domination of regional Bosses of Big states, weightage should be given to the small states. So we suggest as stated above.

Question No. 8. Units

(1) Primary, (2) District, (3) P. C. C. (4) AICC.

Question No 9. Membership register :

(a) In every polling booth area there will be Primary Congress Committees Every adult man and women should be eligible enrol as Congress Primary member of that area by signing the pledge and submitting application or by putting his

name in the Register Book mantained by the Paimary Congress.

b) It will be compulsory for every Primary Congress Committee to maintain a permanent register book of its members. Every year in the month of January or in such date or period as decided by AICC all these members who want to renew their membe rship will sign in the register book or apply for re newal of membership. New people also can become Congress Primary member either by entering their names personally in the Register Books or by submitting application. There will be no membership fee. Every year before 1st. March, all Primary Congress Committees shall have to send that two copies of Primary membership list to District Congress office and in turn DCC's will send one coppy of that list to APCC before 1st. May, every year.

Question No. 10. Organisational Election.

(a) Present organisation election system is a faulty one. It needs modifications as follows.

(b) In the month of February on a date fixed by the PCC the Primary mambers who are continually for two years will elect the office-bearers for a period of three years.

District Congress Committee.

(c) In the month of March a date will be fixed by PCC for DCC and APCC member election. For this purpose the DCC will group the Primary Congress Committee of compact area minimum five P.C. into one group for voting pnrpose and election of one or two members for DCCs as fixed by PCC and vote for the PCC members in their respective areas. Candidate

eligible to stand must be Congress members continually for three years.

Pradesh Congress Committee

(d) As it is in present constitution the period in place of two year should be three years.

There should be a rule that the MLAs and MPs will not be allowed to stand for PCC members, instead there should be a quota fixed for them from respective state Legislative Congress Party to the respective PCC as it is now. This percentage may be increased.

Executive Committee of PCC.

(e) Leader and Deputy Leader or the Congress Party in Legislature and Parliaments will be ex-officio member of the respective PCCs and AICC Executive Committee. There should be a clause in the Congress Constitution, that not more than one third members of Executive will be MLA or MP of their respective PCC Executive and working Committee of AICC.

Election Committee :

(f) There will be one election Committee at AICC or PCC and DCC level, to supervise and guide all organisational and Parliamentary election etc. run by Congress. Election Committee members, except leader of the Party and Congress President, should not be elected members of any organisational Committee or MLA, MP.

Question No. 11. Terms of Congress Committee :

Duration of Congress Committee should be three years in place of present two years.

Question No. 12. Publicity and propaganda : (a) Propaganda should be made to drive home to the people and Congress Workers the true implications of the basic principles of socialism and how to implement them a concrete shape in the situation, obtaining in the Country and in the different conditions in different areas. All problems should be discussed from the socialist standpoint exposing the true character of the reactionary movements and suggesting solution based on principle and aiming at progress and well being of the common people. They should be mobilized in the idological spirit as Gandhiji did by raising their consciousness and level of thinking.

(b) The journals and periodicals should create a feeling that they are giving the voice of the suffering masses and giving the real solution to their problems.

Question No. 13. Research : (a) Research is very urgently needed. There should be thorough analysis of the problems and events in a scientific manner to arrive at the proper solution showing the interconnection of politics and economics and social conditions and how solution of problems lies in changing the system as a whole,

(b) Research bureau should be set up both under AICC and PCC for investigation into the causes of economic unrest, student unrest etc and as to their remmedy.

Question 14. Training of Cadre : (a) There should be training programme both in PCC and AICC levels.

(b) It should be in the nature of permanent institute for training of workers.

An Asylum for Congress Workers.

(c) The training process should be a continuous one. It should not only be a traning Institute of usual Type but it should it should be like an Asylum—where Congress Workers who have spent whole life working for the cause of Congress and want to spend the rest of their life can find a secured weather and scope for work.

Regarding Training scheme and syllabus, our suggestion is firstly that the Institute should be such, that intelligentia may be attracted towards it. There should not be any rigid type of syllabus like school or College. It should be of a seminar type, Institute, where through proper and detail discussions we can buildup an intelligent dynamic batch of workers with a strong ideological background to work in different fields such as labour, co-operative, Panchayats, Congress organisation, Youth, Student etc.

Question No. 15. Relation Between Organisation & Administration.

(a) This is another important factor like (i) Active Members (ii) Congress Candidates selection, which is also responsible for present deterioration of Congress. After independence, the Organisation fell into a secondary position, it has become a onemen—show at National Level and at State level the Chief Minister, with his camp followers becomes more powerful than the PCC. Generally the PCCs and DCCs are utilised by the groups in power to keep it in power and make it felt in Delhi high command circle as most powerful persons or group

in that State. What was the position and prestige of the president of All India Congress during all these years? President including the whole AICC were there to dito the decision of late Nehru In the State the same thing happened and there were conflicts in the States between the group in power and the group not in power. So from time to time, the the Working Committee issued directives for Co ordination between the Congress organisation and the Government. But these directions were not followed by those who are powerful among the States. Gradually the powerful States high command are becomming like subedar or Nababs of the last days of Mughal Empire. Now-a-days, the Delhi gadiwallas are "Towajing" these powerful pradesh High Command. What we would suggest is that those recommendations should be put into action.

(b) Regarding where Congress is not in power, the Congress Party should fuction as opposition party as in British and the organisation will propagate Congress programme and organise opposition when the opposition Govt. have taken measures which go against people's interest.

Question No. 16 Implementation Demarcation Line (a) In the beginning of every year firstly the PCC Executive and the Chief Minister, with his Cabinet members should discuss in detail the development proposals and general policy regarding various problems of states etc. and make flexible outlines and then put them before a joint meeting of Pradesh Congress Commitiee and Congress Party in the legislature for approval.

Co-ordination. (b) It should be done in suech a way,

that organisation will plough and prepare the soil and Govt. will sow the seeds, water and rear them and take care of their growth. The organisation will educate the people, organise them for successful implementation of a particular development scheme undertaken by the Govt.

The people of the area should think that it was done as they demanded. And when a major problem arises, the Chief Minister should consult with Pradesh President, and its executive. Likewise it should be done at a National level.

Evaluation (c) The organisational secretariat from time to time should evaluate the result of various decisions taken and put them before the annual joint conference of the PCC and the legislatare Party.

Question No. 17. Need for Change in method of Selection co-ng ress Nominee. This needs a radical change in the method of nomination of Congress Candidates for Lesislatures, Parliament etc.

All sorts of group fighting blakmailing etc. are heppening around Congress selections of candidates for MLAs. MPs etc. At lower level such as sub-divisional District and Block levels, the problem before the Congress people is who will get Congress ticket for MLA MPs for their respective areas. This depends not on his popularity or Congress works but on the support of the group that are in dominent position in Pradesh Election Committee or the Pradesh chief or chief Minister, who is powerfull. Finalisation of Pradesh list also depends, on the Prime Minister or powerfull members of the Parliamentary board. This leads to group from bottom to top.

So in order to avoid all these, we are firmly of opinion that there should be a radical change in the procedure of selection of the candidates. For selection of Congress Candidates to Assembly or Prliament or to any such bodies, the Congress Prim ary members of every constituency of two years standing will be entitled to vote in the selection of the Congress nominee from their respective constituencies. The Congressmen who are primary members continually for three years will be be eligible to stand as candidates for Congresss nomination.

The Congrsssmen who get majority votes in this Election will be Congress Candidates for MLA or MP from that Constituency. This will be final except where grave anomalies have been committed. The Congress associated Labour Unions or such other social Organisations, whose ideology aim and objects are the same and associated themselves with Congress works, members of such organisations will also take part in such voting in their respective areas,

(b) We do not say that this is a fool-proof procedure. There may be some sortcoming and loop holes. But to us this principle of procedure of selection of Congress Candidates to various bodies if adopted, will help to a great extent :

(i) To eradicate corruption.

(ii) To check the growth of groupism.

(iii) To check Bossism.

(iv) Discontenment among Congressmen will decrease.

(v) Mass contact will be maintained because the prospective candidates then must go to the masses.

(vi) Young, intelligent, dynamic people will come to Congress because the impression of Bossism will go. The Boss will be the masses.

(c) If that method is found to be much cumbrous and expensive, than the alternative suggestion is that each Primary Congress Committee of that particular constituency will elect 5 representatives if possible unanimously or by two third majority. Thus elected representatives of the Primary Congress will meet on a date fixed by PCC and select their Congress nominee, both for Assembly and Parliament. In every constituency the Primary Congress should cover atleast 2/3 polling centres. These representatives must be members of the Primary Congress continually for three years atleast.

Question 21. Women : They should be given full charge of all social, Constructive and relief work programme of Congress. They should not be drawn into aggressive politics and group politics, specially those who are below the age of 45 years. America or England should be the our example in politics in respect of women.

Question 22. Seva Dal : (a) The existing Seva Dal cannot play any role to strengthen the Congress unless the whole structure is changed.

(b) It is better to abolish the Seva Dal than to keep it in name only.

(c) Instead of spending energy and money for the present kind of Seva Dal, Congress should give more stress on creation of political workers for different programme of the Congress, if it is not able

to make the Seva Dal militant, active and dynamic organisation, which requires a large amount of money and proper leadership.

Question 23. Labour

(a) Strikes. unrest among the labour class is gradually increasing and will increase more and more. There will be more violence, strikes and unrest in the years to come.

Causes :

(b) (i) Frustration (ii) High cost of living (iii) Loss of confidence in administration and leaders. Feeling among the labourers is gaining ground that. present Congress Govt. is not what it was before, it is gradually becoming instrument in the hands of the certain capitalists and many of its leaders are becoming reactionaries and coming under the influence of one or other capitalist who finances them to fight its rivals in Congress and to get power etc.

(c) Earnest and sincere attempt should be made to improve the relation between INTUC and Congress Bosses and workers, and they should jointly try to build up a strong intelligntia with ideological background of a cadre of labour workers who can be able to create comfidence in workers.

(d) Govt. should make necessary modification in existing labour laws which are very cumbrous and delays justice, which is also one of the causes of losing faith in INTUC, Congress Govt and of frustration among the labourers.

INTUC Losing Ground.

INTUC is gradually losing its ground mainly due to the fact that the old foun-

der leaders are diminising gradually for various reasons. Secondly most of the present INTUC Leaders or workers are becoming comfort loving, seekers of power, position and money, and take a very compromising attitude with the employers in the matter of labour interest. Most of them have lost their ideal and vigour and are taking INTUC as a means of livelihood or as a means to become MLA, MP or Minister. Workers have no faith in them. So first and formost thing is to make INTUC organisation strong by replacing its leadership, where necessary, by more progressive and dynamic workers who can create confidence among workers. Then and then only INTUC would be able to mobilise the loubour force of India in the task of reconstruction.

(b) In majority of the states the relation between INTUC and the States Congress Bosses has been not cordial or good but otherwise. They are blaming one another. Main causes are :— (a) State's Bosses do not like some other reasons. This is also prevailing at top high command at the centre.

(c) Rivalries— Congress Bosses and specially their supporters think in their respective areas the INTUC leaders or workers as rivals for Assmebly or Parliamentary Tickets.

(d) Ideological—Though some INTUC as well as Congress people say that their difference is ideological but in reality it is not much of ideological nature, it is no more than mere rivalry. On the other hand some INTUC leaders and workers who were Congress men but due to group politics, either they were driven out or they left themselves Congress finding it difficult to compromise with the dominent group Bosses, who are

generally men under the influence of some capitalists, these leaders and workers of INTUC who left Congress and joined one or other opposition parties, say that INTUC is an independent organisation having nothing to do with Congress and act against Congress. Even some INTUC Workers who are in Congress Bosses and have joined with one group or the other.

Yet, the Congress can strengthen the INTUC and INTUC also can contibute to strengthen Congress to achive its ideal of Socialism. It could be only by mutual understanding and helping each other.

Question No. 24 Peasants : Time has come for Congress to build up organisation among the peasants of India, like that of the INTUC Congress has at present no organisation in the peasantry worth mentioning, though other parties have some. The difficulty in setting up such organisation among the peasants is the suspicious eye of one Congress man upon other Congress man in this kind of work.

Questions No. 25, Youth Students & Intelligentia, There are some questions such as (i) What further steps do you suggest for drawing the inielligentia to the Congress fold (ii) What steps would you recommend for attracting Youth to the Congress. Such other questions are in the questionnaire issued by the re-organisation Committee. We want to add in this item two other questions to be examined by the Committee. Why Congress wants to draw the the intelligentia and Youth to the Congress and whether the steps taken by the Congress to draw the Youth and intelligentia to the Congress fold have succeded and if not why.

a) What kind of Youth & Intelligentia leaders want.

(3) Thirdly do the top leaders sincerely want that youth and intelligentia should come to Congress? What sort of Youth and intelligentia they want. Youth of vigour, dash and intelligence and dymamic kind of Youth, to come to Congress or they want unintelligent, of the respective group leaders? Let the Re-organisation Committee members put these questions to themselves and clear their mind.

As we understand the Youth Congress was formed to create a second line of leadership, a dynamic, vigorous leadership, leadership with wider vision and out look. But our top leaders turned it to be an organisation of eunuchs. Please look to the faces of some state conveners and prominent members of our Youth Congress? Who are the person at the top to guide or control the Youth Congress! Can these people create inspiration and hope in the Youth of the country? What the Youth and intelligentia see in the present Congress and what was seen by the present people who are at the helm of affairs in Congress? What attracted them to Congress when they were Youth at that time? Then what is the difference in Congress of today and Congress of those days?

What Youth and intelligentia today see in Congress?

(d Why the Youth, Student and intelligentia allergic towards Congress.

What about the new generation? Why are they so critical of and hate the people? Why they have not now come into Congress in large numbers? What new genereation have seen about

most Congress people. They are not concerned with previous history of the Congress people they are concerned with the present. They have seen that (1) Congressmen are fighting with each other for Power and position. (2) Congressmen at the top of affairs in the Govt. are surrounded by black-marcketeers, moneyed people and a section of lower rank and file are enga. ged in Dalali business to earn money and propoerty and in enlisting supporters for their group Bosses. (3) Congressmen do not practice what they speak or say. (4) A youngman finds, when he comes into contact with a top congressman no talk of ideology, programme, but blackmailing of his rival Congressman. (5) To a young intellectual most of the presentleaders of the Congress are reactionaries or agents of reactionary forces and greedy, self-seekers without any ideology. His sole ideology or programme consists of how to dominate congress and use it for his own personal gain and power. (6) Whenever a young intellectual comes to congress he is looked upon suspiciously and he is never entrusted with any responsibility, unless he surrenders to one group or other.

Can these behaviours of Congressmen inspire young men and young women of today?

c) Our suggestion.- So, if really congress wants the youths and the entelligentia to come to congress an atmosphere must be created in congress so that the Youth and intelligentia can get scope to play their role effectively. Towards this end our suggestions are as follows. (1) It must be made really an autonomous body in its true sense. (ii) Youth Congress may be allowed to play as an opposition party within Congress (iii) Youth Congress may be allowed to organise even if necessary mass protests by holding

meetings, processions, etc. to focus general public grievances and Government anti-socialistic measures. (iv) Causes that are making the youth and intelligentia allergic to Congress should be removed.

v) Congress should have student organisation of its own like the Communist who have student organisations. Though in the surface it is seen to be an independent organisation but indirectly dominated by them.

d) writing in the wall. They can turn upside down the whole political situation of a country; as for example in Indonesia a new situation was created by them. The cultural revolution in Red China and such revolutionary upserge in Poland and France, ~~through~~ the student movement should be an eye opener to our old people.

Question No. 26. Grievances. The Secretariat of every PCC. should have a wing to receive and hear such grievances and the chief Minister's Secretariat should also have a separate Secretary for this purpose. PCC Secretariat will first take up the grievances with the chief Minister's Secretary. The PCC President will take up those matters relating to policy with Chief Minister personally.

Quesition No. 27. Discipline. There should be a very high power committee of persons of high moral standard to hear the grievances against Congress MLAs, MPs and Ministers.

(a) The present rules and procedure are both very cumbrous and lengthy. It should bc made simple and quick. Big or small, the decision should be implemented without showing favour or hesitation.

(b) Now there is an impression prevailing that rules are only for those who are weak but for not those who are strong.

(c) From time to time may recommendations were made by AICC and working Committee in this regard. Those recommendations should be implemented vigorously.

Question No. 28. Factionalism : Congressmen are becoming suspicious of one another. Sometimes they even see with a suspicious eye their own shadows and fight with it thinking it as his rival. Factionalism led to develop such an atmosphere among Congressmen.

Question No. 29. Finance Every year AICC will fix a week in the month of January for mass collection of fund for Congress. A detail programme for mass collection drive should be chalked out accordingly by the PCC and DCC respectively. It should be made compulsory for Congress members to contribute one day's income to Congress fund monthly. The primary will get 50% of such collection and rest will be divided between DCC, PCC and AICC.

Question No 30. Secretariate : The Secretariate both at National level and State level should be of all embracing character, which can guide and evaluate the working of party Govt. programme in furtherance of Congress aim and objects including Congress resolutions and programme,

Need for Voluntary Retirement of some Top Leaders

Conclusion : Without any disrespect to any body most important and urgent need of the time to restore the Congress organisation to its fromer place and prestige, and to make it the embodiment of people's hope and aspiration and to raise its moral standard in the eyes of the people. Rightly or wrongly there prevails some short of unkind feeling against some of the top old leaders, who are now in helm of affairs in Congress. Prevailing impression throughout the country is that these leaders are not pursuing the Congress ideology and programme but instead, they are indirectly sabotaging it. They are agents of vested interest, they are against socialism, they are the leaders who are responsible for groupism in Congress etc. An impression prevailing in the Country even among the masses is that these people are symbol of reaction and they are at the root of all evils in the Congress and they are opposed to any dynamic progressive programme. Nobody denies that these leaders were valliant freedom fighters and had sacrificed much for the country. But those days are gone, the people are now concerned with the present, not with the past. It is time, in order to bring confidence of the people and to inspire the young generation with Congress ideology, that these old guards, retired themselves voluntarily. Rama knew Sita to be pure, but he banished Sita to keep the people's faith and confidence in him and his administration. To save Congress from destruction, let our top-leaders about whom people have rightly or wrongly got that sort of impression, retire from Congress voluntarily and gracefully.

They have sacrificed much in the past for the Country and Congress, again let them now also sacrifice for good of the organisation, like the great Dadhisi Muni of the past. If they retire themselves from Congress, their prestige will be much more enhanced than what they have now.

We are trying to give a true picture of the Congress as it has taken the shape today, the causes that are at the root of all the maladies which have brought Congress to its present deplorable state.

We are also humbly suggesting some measures for re-organisation of the Congress to the members of the re-organisation Committee for their kind consideration. We are of the firm conviction that such radical measures are urgently necessary if we seriously want to save the Congress from destruction.

We sincerely and humbly pray to god to give courage and foresight to our respected Leaders who are on the re-organisation Committee to do justice to the great national responsibility entrusted to them to save Congress, which is to save India's Democracy and integrity. We fear that India's Democracy and integrity will vanish with the vanishing of the Indian National Congress. We have the faith and the confidence that our Leaders will not fail to do and if necessary, sacrifice whatever is needed to save our beloved National Congress, which has raised the nation out of dust,

With regard to all.
We the old humble Congress Workers.

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Memorandum to the members of the Congress
Re-organisation Committee